2: Gamble S-5 /1926-1933/1954 AF[illegible] AF12

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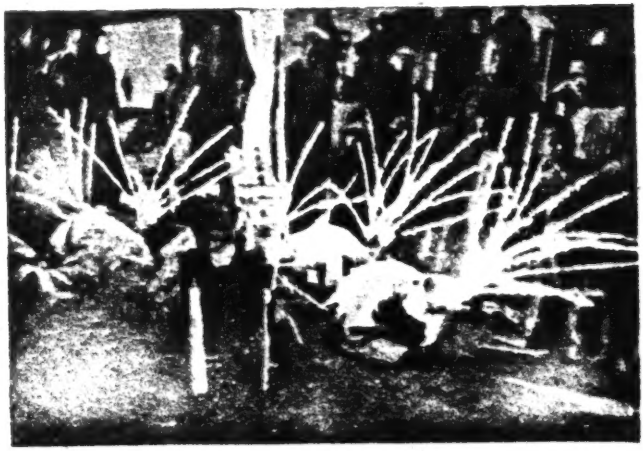

FUNERAL—"LIBATION IN THE ROAD"

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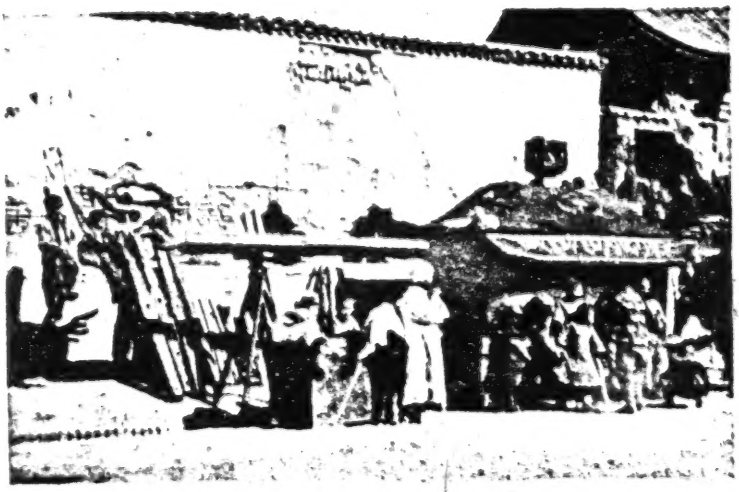

DRAGON HEADED CATAFALQUE

[p. 4(m)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

621 454 see the progress made. In 1924 the amount held by the society totaled $3,000. The society was still operating in 1931.

Patriotic and Improvement Societies

621 185 A Patriotic Society was organized in 1915 to help create patriotic feelings in the village. It had a head, a secretary, and an investigator. Its duties were to persuade the members to buy government bonds, encourage the young men to enlist when the government was recruiting soldiers, and promote the purchase of home-made goods. The magistrate Sun Fa-hsü came to Chai Ch'eng to give lectures on patriotism. After he left Ting Hsien, the patriotic society was discontinued and only its name remained.

The Virtue Put Into Practice Society was organized in 1914 and was especially active in 1915. Its meetings were attended by some 150 men. Women held separate meetings with some 80 attending. After 1917 the society gradually declined and the meetings were discontinued. In 1931 only the name remained.

The Work Together Society was organized in 1915 to develop public spirit. It had a head and a committee of nine. Its purpose was to create mutual friendship, to console those who mourned, to provide mutual help in time of difficulty, and to befriend others with honesty and sincerity. No meetings were held after the first one.

The Customs Improvement Society was organized in 1915 to improve the customs and habits of the village. It was still operating in 1931. The chairman of the society was the village head. Early marriage, expensive funerals, and foot-binding were some of the customs they worked to change. In reporting on the work of the society, the officers stated that some 80 per cent of the men used to marry before they were 20 years old. In 1931 the figure was not over 40 per cent. At least 10 per cent of the girls used to marry before they were 16 years old. In 1931 no girls were marrying before they were 16. The society also reported that no girls under 16 years of age had bound feet.

621 185 764 Funerals used to involve visits to the temples, hiring necromancers, engaging monks, and burning paper money, paper houses, and other paper equipment for the use of the dead. Much of this expense had been given up by 1931. It was reported that none of the Chai Ch'eng families were having monks for funerals. It was also stated that the families were using bows instead of kotows in connection with funerals. The kitchen

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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gods and the gate gods generally had been given up by the Chai Ch'eng families.

The Admire the Sages Society was organized by the school teachers in 1906 to encourage the people to imitate the good people of the past. In 1913 other educated people were included in the society membership. The Mi brothers and other prominent men gave lectures at the one or two meetings that were held every year. After 1921 meetings were held only every three years. The principal of the village school could call a meeting of the society, but it was completely inactive in 1931.

621 185

Promotion of Agriculture

From 1904 to 1908 Ting Hsien suffered from drought and the farmers had poor crops. Mr. Mi, the village head, and his assistant, Mr. Hsü, consulted with the other village elders as to how they might encourage the villagers to dig wells to provide water for irrigation. In 1906 eight wells were dug on village land as a demonstration, prizes were offered to encourage the poor farmers to dig wells, and arrangements were made whereby farmers, in need of money to finance the cost of a well, might borrow half the cost of the necessary materials. The loans were to be repaid after the harvest. Over ten years' time more than one hundred wells were dug.

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Following the success of this program, the village elders encouraged the owners of small fields to dig cooperative wells where the individual fields were not large enough to warrant the digging of separate wells. There was great need for such cooperation as the study of a group of 3,763 fields belonging to 1,136 families in four other villages showed that only 7.9 per cent of the fields had 10 or more mu, and only 0.7 per cent had 25 or more mu.[2] A good well could irrigate from 25 to 30 mu.

The village elders provided that where land was held by a mortgagee he should pay his share of the cost of digging a cooperative well but he should be repaid by the mortgagor when he redeemed the property. Where land was held under lease the owners should pay the cost of the well, but should be reimbursed by increasing the rent. The village elders set up regulations for settling disagreements between mortgagors and mortgagees and between tenants and landlords over the cost of the wells and the increased rent.

Village regulations provided for the care of the public wells and the

2. See Chapter X.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

588 who had died unmarried. The couple might be buried in adjoining graves as was usual for a husband and wife. Their spirits could be together in the other world and they would not be lonely, as an heir could be picked who would carry on the ancestral worship and prevent their spirits wandering as orphans. If the wedding was arranged the chosen heir would go to the woman's home carrying in his hand a paper banner in which was written her name, age, etc. Accompanied by her family, he would bring her coffin to the boy's family graveyard. Sometimes it was the girl's family who took the initiative and called in the match-maker.

Death

764 When death occurred the first duty of the family was to dress the body in its grave clothes lest the spirit of the dead person make its entrance into the other world undressed. The clothes were usually purchased before death occurred so that they would be available for prompt use. A man was dressed in a big hat, a new pair of shoes, trousers, and a single cotton gown. A woman's head-dress was a piece of yellow cloth instead of a hat. The grave clothes had no buttons or buttonholes. The trousers of both men and women were fastened at the ankle with strings instead of the usual ankle bands. A small silver bell, with a string attached to it, was put into the dead person's mouth. The string hung outside the mouth. Poor families used a copper cash instead of a silver bell.

763 White papers folded and cut into three strips were hung outside the family gate to announce a death in the home. The papers were hung on the left side of the gate for a male, on the right side for a female. (Right and left are of a person looking out of the gate.) Later a large square of white paper was posted outside the gate. On it were written the deceased's name, age, and the date and time of his birth. The large square paper, too, was posted on the left of the gate for a male and on the right for a female. Still later mourning cards were sent to friends and relatives to announce the death and give the dates set for any special services, interment, etc.

764 When the body had been dressed in its funeral clothes it was taken from the k'ang and placed on a wooden board bed. On the bed was placed a mattress made of yellow-gold cloth, lined with blue cloth and filled with cotton. A wooden pillow was put under the corpse's head.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Its old pillow was put under the bed. The body was covered with a cotton or satin cloth instead of the usual bed quilt. A piece about one foot long was torn from this cover before the body was put into the coffin.

A paper screen was placed in front of the bed and later in front of the coffin to keep out the sunlight. The sun, belonging to the yang half of the universe, would be harmful to the spirit of the departed as it belonged to the yin half.

On the first evening after the death the sons of the deceased went to the Wu Tao temple to announce the death to the gods. Mourning papers and incense were burned before the altar and the gods were worshiped. On their way home the group all wept bitterly and continually until they returned to the bedside of the dead. While the sons went to the temple the rest of the family stayed at home in silence. If there was no Wu Tao temple in the area the death was announced to the gods at a nearby crossroads.

The body was usually placed in the coffin the day after death. Rich families often had the coffin especially made years before a person was expected to die. Families without money purchased a coffin with hastily borrowed money. Some poor families got the money for their coffins from friends or from charitable gifts of wealthier families.

A layer of ashes, covered with paper, was put in the coffin before it was placed by the wooden bed of the deceased. The face and eyes of the dead were carefully washed before the body was put into the coffin so that they could show their brightness after death. The sons and daughters of the deceased each took a handful of coins and spread them in the coffin. Sometimes close friends of the family would pick out some of the coins so they might be worn by their children. The wearing of such a coin was thought to hurry the child's development. As the body was placed in the coffin the family repeated, "Please listen, Father (Mother), we are going to put your body in the treasure chest". Seven dried stalks of grain, arranged in the form of a stick, were put into the hands of the body so that the spirit would not be bitten by a dog in the other world. When the body had been properly arranged the coffin was covered and nailed. The wooden bed was taken outside, washed, and dried and was not used for three days.

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After death a final meal of rice was prepared for the dead, put into a bowl, and placed on the cover of the coffin. A table was placed at the head of the coffin. On it were a dish of fruit, a bowl of cooked rice, an

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

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burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

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After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

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Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 Af 12 North China Af12

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming.

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service.

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922.

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Fengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER X

CHARITABLE WORK OF THE GUILDS

THE most important charitable agency in China is the family clan. Kulp, Leong and Tao, and many other writers, have described the way in which the dependent members of the guild are looked after by the group. In addition to the activities of the family a great deal of general philanthropic work is being done in the nature of outdoor relief, including direct contributions to beggars and, in the winter, the establishment of *congee* or rice gruel stations where the poor are fed in large numbers. In the towns and cities there are also institutions designed especially for the aged and orphans. Great merit is supposedly acquired by contributors to these institutions. Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, in *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy*,[1] has described this type of activity. The large program of charitable work in Peking has been described in great detail by Mr. Gamble.[2]

The charitable work of the government, the records of which extend back to the *Chou Li* or laws of the Chou Dynasty supposed to have been written in 1115 B. C., was largely confined to mass relief in case of famine or disaster too great for local agencies to care for. In clan and family philanthropy there is almost as much interest in the proper burial of the dead as in the care of the living. Not only in the practices of family life, but also in the running of government poorhouses, great importance is attached to the proper supply of coffins. Chief among the benefits to be derived by inmates of an old women's home in Peking, a private charity, is the assurance of worthy burial.

[1] Doctor's dissertation, Columbia University.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-306.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The philanthropies of the Chinese guilds follow the general pattern of the private philanthropies of the clan and charitable institutions. Morse makes note of the charitable work in the craft and commercial guilds as follows:

> In China it is a matter of pride for well-to-do families to spend large sums on funerals, and customary for friends of the family to send contributions toward the expenses, much in the way that wedding presents are sent in the West; and the fellow-craftsmen of the deceased would be among the first to contribute. For poor members of the gild, contribution would always be made from the gild treasury, usually taking the form of a suitable coffin, and probably also of candles and offerings to the manes of the deceased.[1]

Our study of the Peking guilds shows that although there is little specific explanation regarding recipients of gifts, for the most part the charitable activities of craftsmen and professionals are confined to the needs of their own members. On one matter, however, there is specific statement—that apprentices who die without funds are to be provided with coffins. The presumption is that these philanthropic contributions are given to those whose resources, their own or their family clan's, are insufficient to meet their expenses.

The second principal use of funds is the supplying of Chinese medicine or of free medical aid to members who are ill.[2] Only one guild, the Cloisonné Designers, mentions specifically that they help unemployed members to find work.

A few typical replies will illustrate in greater detail the types of philanthropic activities carried on by the craft and professional guilds. The Cloisonné Designers report that they "provide a cemetery, pay funeral expenses, provide medicine and help workers find jobs." The Mat Tent Build-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Cf.* Table XIII.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ers say that "the guild has no money to carry on any philanthropic work except in some cases the providing of burial for a member who is cared for by nobody." The Paper Hangers report that "there is a cemetery at Nan Hsia Wa Tze (a location in the Southern City in Peking). In case of the death of a member money is collected to buy a coffin. In case of sickness the member may go to the master's temple for care." He is allowed to live in one of the temples without paying for food or lodging. How much, if any, medical treatment is given is not known. The Actors report that they have "special plays to help raise funds for the medical care of the sick and for the burial of the dead." They also every year just before the New Year give plays, the proceeds from which are distributed in general poor relief. Both the Night Soil Guild and the Electricians Guild report that they "supply special traveling expenses for the sick who have to return home." The only other charitable activities reported by these two types of guilds are the work of the Porters in supplying free tea leaves for the tea houses on the way to *Miao Feng Shan* and a similar service for the pilgrims performed by the Tinkers in connection with the same festival. Their report says, "Every year on the seventh day of the fourth month the members work gratuitously for the pilgrims along the road to Miao Feng Shan." This pilgrimage is described in our discussion of the Porters Guild.[1] Evidently, if the dishes or other utensils carried by the pilgrims on their journey need mending, the Tinkers will do this service for nothing, thereby making both a philanthropic and a religious contribution. In most of the craft and professional guilds temporary free lodgings and board at the guild temple are given to visiting fellow craftsmen who are seeking employment.

In the replies of the commercial group only the Fur Guild reported the possession of a public cemetery; two others co-

[1] *Cf.* pp. 89-90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

operated in medical relief work. The Dye Stuff Stores send their sick to the *Hsien Wang* Temple to a "special quarter set aside for that purpose, but the expense for medicine must be borne by the patient." The Pork Shops also supply medical relief for their members.

Unlike the craft and professional guilds, the principal philanthropic interest of the commercial guilds is apparently for the outside public rather than for guild members. The Coal Stores give free coal to the poor, while the Rice and Flour Merchants contribute grain for famine relief, and the Restaurant Keepers piously report that whenever any philanthropic institution asks for help the guild will do its best. The Pork and Mutton Shops both report that they spend funds, as a guild, for poor relief, not specifying that the relief is for their own members. The Hotel Keepers, whom we are not including in our list, are contributors to the public *congee* or rice gruel stations and to the general outdoor relief of the cities, as well as to the famine relief fund.

The replies from Foochow and Nanking show a similar, if not a larger, volume of philanthropic work on the part of the commercial guilds there. The philanthropic activities of the Foochow Tea Guild consist in contributing to medical relief, poor relief, and insurance for the poor. The Cloth Guild of Foochow does work along similar lines, while the sole philanthropic activity of the Paper Guild is the running of a fire brigade. The Nanking Flowered Satin Stores Guild wishes it understood that they "extend the same kind of help to members and non-members, which consists in supplying a cemetery for the burial of paupers, general charitable relief for war refugees, and for those who have met with flood or drought. They also supply medical relief, coffins for paupers, wadded clothes for the poor, and distribute free tea, presumably to beggars." The informant, however, is careful to add that the guild carries on these

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

ilies. The accounts include also figures for 17 funerals, one engagement party, and one birthday party.

In getting these records, we found that many families keep accounts for special occasions, even if they do not record their daily receipts and expenses. This probably is due to the fact that, the members of the family being occupied with other matters, the handling of the money is usually delegated to some friend or relative, who naturally must keep a complete and itemized account. Then, too, many friends send presents which must be entered in the special account-book, in order that, later on, when return presents are to be sent, the family may know how much was given them. There is every reason, therefore, to feel that the accounts are virtually complete. No special study of wedding and funeral customs has been attempted, except as they are brought out by the accounts. We must leave to others the detailed description of the many forms and ceremonies, their significance and symbolism.

The wedding expenses ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The least expensive was the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man whose income was $17.75 a month; the most expensive, that of the son of a family with an income of some $250 a month, and considerable surplus deposited in the bank. In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The feast to celebrate the engagement of a son, together with gifts to the prospective bride, cost one family $324.20, or 1 month's income.

Funerals are often costly, but it is surprising how little is spent for some of them. The least expensive funeral

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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among the families in our study cost only $1.82. This sum paid for the coffin, the grave, the funeral permit, carrying the coffin to the grave, and 4 cents' worth of paper money. It was for a two-year-old younger son of a family of five. The family income was $14 a month. The funeral, therefore, cost a little more than one-eighth of the family's monthly income. Four other funerals of children less than three years old cost from $2 to $8.50, or from one-eighth to one-seventh of a month's income. The funerals of older people naturally were more expensive. The totals varied from $18.10 to $744.85. One group of funerals, those of older children, a brother, and a father, cost from 1.25 to 1.5 months' income. None of these included a funeral feast. Funerals for husbands, wives, older brothers, mothers, cost their families from $96.50 to $279, or 2.5, 3, 5, and 5.5 months' income.

The most expensive funeral was unusual, in that the expenditure was equivalent to 45 months' income. It was for a sixty-four-year-old widow who had been living alone, supported by an income of $17 a month received from the rent of property. She also owned the house in which she lived. When she died, her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral. Most of this probably came from her property. It is not clear whether or not it is customary to use a large part of a widow's property to give her a specially fine funeral. Possibly an unusually large amount was spent in this case, as the woman apparently had no direct heirs. In families where property has been divided among several brothers *(fên chia)*, a widow may inherit her husband's share; but, it is reported, it is almost impossible for her to sell any of it. Apparently, other members of the husband's family have

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

sufficient residuary interest in property so divided to prevent the widow from giving a clear title. 511 * 764

In a group of 1,000 ricksha men that we studied in 1924-25, there were 71 who said they had paid for funerals during the previous year. The amounts ranged from $3 to $200, but only six were $70 or over. The median and mode were both $30, the average $36. No attempt was made to secure the details of the funeral expenses. The reported income of the 1,000 ricksha men averaged approximately 38 cents a day, or some $11.50 a month. The cost of the average funeral, therefore, appears to be about three times the monthly income. Probably it would have been somewhat less if we had had a report of the entire family income, rather than that of the ricksha man only; but, on the other hand, the monthly income is undoubtedly high as it is figured on the basis of the ricksha man's reported daily earnings, with no allowance for loss of time due to sickness, vacations, et cetera.

Fifty-nine of the 71 funerals were for parents, grandparents, uncles. Only four were for children. The amount spent for the latter was either $3 or $5. One man spent only $6 for his mother's funeral, another $7.

Thirty-seven, or a little more than one-half, of the ricksha men said they borrowed the money needed for the funerals; 23, or about one-third, sold land; only six were able to pay for the funerals out of their savings. Three secured help from relatives, and two from a philanthropist. Of the 249 coolies who reported that they were in debt, 29 said it was the result of paying for a funeral, but only three because of a wedding.

Only one birthday party was reported by our budget families. It was for a man's fifty-seventh birthday, was 511 * 527

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

around the bird's neck. Sometimes the entire bird is painted red. It is generally the custom for the bride's family to keep one of the pair of geese and return the other to the family of the groom. In Peiping, however, lower-class families often rent the red geese. These are received by the bride's family, and then returned to the shop.

The detailed expenditures of the funerals cover a wide range. The coffins cost all the way from $1.20 to $205. The cheapest was an unfinished box made of light boards. The most expensive was made of wood six or seven inches thick, and finished with a fine varnish. As might be expected, there seems to be a tendency to fix the price of the coffins in even units, $10, $25, $50, and $100.

No coffin was entered in one of the accounts. Investigation showed that it had been properly omitted. None had been purchased. The deceased belonged to a Mohammedan family and the Chinese Mohammedans do not use coffins when they bury their dead. The body is carried to the cemetery in one of a number of different-sized boxes kept for that purpose at the mosque. At burial, the body is taken from the box and placed in an undercut gallery in the earth, with the head to the north and the face turned toward Mecca in the west. When the grave is closed, the gallery is not filled, and an open space is thereby left around the body. Some of our informants say this is done so that the dead may have room to kneel toward Mecca five times a day. The mound over a Mohammedan grave is usually a truncated pyramid, in contrast to the rounded mounds over ordinary Chinese graves.[4]

[4] Reported by Dr. W. B. Pettus of the College of Chinese Studies, Peiping.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 764 In many cases, the families studied bought special grave-clothes. The expenditures varied from $1.50 for the shroud of a Mohammedan child, to $32.20 spent for grave-clothes for a sixty-year-old man. Ordinarily there was no expenditure for the younger children.

The body is washed and dressed before it is put into the coffin. Some families dress the body in its grave-clothes almost immediately after death, fearing that otherwise the soul may enter the next world naked. The grave-clothes are usually tied on, as it is thought that buttons and buttonholes may make great trouble for the departed spirit.

The coffin usually is lined with cloth, or silk, and furnished with a pillow, blanket, and mattress. The cost of these ordinarily was included with the grave-clothes, as only two pillows were itemized, one costing 60 cents, the other $2. The one blanket listed cost $2.30.

If the deceased is an adult, mourning clothes of rough unbleached white muslin are worn by members of the family for the funeral. The wearing of mourning after the funeral depends upon the relationship of the deceased, the strictness with which the family follows the mourning customs, et cetera. Parents do not wear mourning for their children.[5] As a sign of mourning for a father, white shoes are worn by the members of some families during a period of two and one-half years; and for three years, as mourning for a mother. Several of the accounts show that the family purchased $10 or $15 worth of white cloth. Most of this undoubtedly was used to make mourning garments. Additional clothes worn at the funeral often are rented for the occasion. One family, besides

[5] No. 12.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

764 51K [822]

spending some $10 for white cloth, also paid 36 cents for the rent of special mourning clothes.

As red is associated with happiness rather than with mourning, it was surprising to find red cloth on the funeral accounts. It was used to make small red bats, which are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning gowns; and for the red on the heels of the white mourning shoes worn by the more remote younger relatives. Sometimes pieces of blue cloth are sewed on the shoulders of the mourning garments. This denotes the loss of a maternal relative.*

An elaborate Chinese funeral is a great sight. Preceding the catafalque is a long double line of men and boys carrying wreaths of artificial flowers, paper and cloth scrolls, embroidered silk umbrellas, flags, religious symbols, paper figures of servants; lions, deer, storks, summer-houses made of evergreen branches, a portrait of the deceased. Usually the procession includes a sedan chair and an old-style Peiping cart, sometimes a paper ricksha, paper horse and carriage, paper automobile. Musicians are part of the procession, and it is not unusual for families to have both the old-style horn and drum, and the modern band. Taoist, Buddhist and Lama priests often walk in the large processions. The immediate male relatives, dressed in coarse white mourning costume, walk directly in front of the coffin. A husband may walk in front of his wife's coffin, but it is her oldest son who is the chief mourner and carries the "soul flag." The mourners are often accompanied by friends, each of whom wears a white paper flower to show that he belongs to the funeral party. The coffin, placed on a large cata-

* No. 12.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

falque covered with a red embroidered cloth and surmounted by a gold cone, is borne to the cemetery on men's shoulders. A small funeral procession may be only a few mourners accompanying the coffin as it is carried through the streets.

The women of the family riding in Peiping carts, carriages, and occasionally sedan chairs, follow the coffin. The oldest son's wife carries with her a vase of food to be buried in the grave. The sedan chairs are white; a special white cloth cover is put over the blue hoods of the carts, a touch of white is put on the carriages. The cover on the cart for a married daughter is blue and white.

The carriers, of whom there may be one, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, for the coffin, and an almost unlimited number for the scrolls, umbrellas, et cetera, if the funeral is a large one, cost our families from 20 cents to $96.65. The smaller amount was for one man to carry a child's coffin to the cemetery. The larger amount included the charge for the musicians who beat the funeral drums at the house and played the horns and drums on the way to the grave, and, also the rent of the funeral paraphernalia. In the one account where musicians and bearers were listed separately, the charge for the carriers was $15, and for the musicians, $5. The charges for carriers and musicians are not often segregated, as usually they are all hired by the shop that conducts the funeral. The shop also furnishes all the paraphernalia, and secures the needed men and boys. Occasionally, but only occasionally, women are seen carrying some of the banners or umbrellas in a funeral procession.

The carriers, who, from all appearances, belong to the beggar group, wear for the occasion long green cloth coats

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

on which are printed many "long life" characters, and black felt hats, each with a long red feather standing straight up in the middle of it.

In a funeral of any size, one of the carrier group is ordinarily designated as the leader of the funeral procession. Because of his special position, he is often given a small extra tip. In the most expensive funeral, his extra pay was 8 cents.

The grave is a small item on all the accounts, never over $5. The smallest amount was 27 cents. These amounts are apparently for digging the grave, and sometimes for a watchman or caretaker. For one funeral the charges were itemized, $1 for digging the grave, $1.15 for burying the dead, 50 cents for a caretaker. The accounts do not show any expenditure for the purchase of a grave site. Many of the families undoubtedly had a family graveyard. The poor families possibly buried their dead in the *I ti*, or public graveyard, where no charge is made for a grave site.

The police require a funeral permit before a body can be taken through the city gates. The charge for this apparently varies, either with the age of the deceased or the financial ability of the family. For the bodies of young children, the cost was only 40 coppers, 10 cents. For adults, it was 50 cents or $1.

Taoist, Buddhist, Lama, or Mohammedan priests officiated in at least seven of the funerals. They were paid from $2 to $26. A diviner was called in, for three funerals, to determine the proper day for interment and other occult matters. Once he was paid only 38 coppers, 10 cents, another time $3. For his services in connection with the most expensive funeral, he received $6.20.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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The third day after a death, the family usually burns a paper horse and cart to help carry the soul to its future home. Then, before the funeral, paper houses and paper boxes filled with paper money are often burned, so that they may be used by the deceased in the next world. In the larger funerals, one sees all sorts of paper objects carried—clothing, servants, rolls of cloth, horses and carriages, rickshas, automobiles. All these are burned at the grave, together with the wreaths of artificial flowers, paper scrolls. We were not able to get the cost of these different articles. The accounts show the family expenditure for paper servants, houses, et cetera, to have varied from $2.50 to $11. Those amounts, of course, would not buy any large number. For one funeral, the paper servants were given by relatives. The shops which make the paper funeral objects are generally known as *min-i-p'u,* "hell clothes stores."

Paper money cost 4 cents for the least expensive funeral, and $9.40 for the most expensive one. One dollar of the latter amount was spent for strings of large round pieces of paper with a square hole cut in the middle of each one, so they will look like *cash,* the old-style Chinese coins with square holes in the center. This is called *mai lu ch'ien,* or road buying money. It is tossed into the air as the funeral passes through the streets, and is supposed to satisfy any wandering spirits that may be about, and to keep them from doing harm to the departed spirit or to the family of the deceased. Some loose paper money is also thrown into the fire when the paper houses, et cetera, are being burned, so that the wandering spirits will take that, and not seize the things that are intende for the deceased.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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Incense is used in most Chinese funerals, but is apparently a small item. It appears on only three of the accounts, and then for 4 cents, 13 cents, and $1.50.

One small but interesting item is the expenditure of a few coppers for a five-colored thread which, we are told, is used to keep the soul quiet. Another was the purchase of the clay dish which stands before the coffin while it is in the house, and is broken when the coffin is carried out and placed on the catafalque. In some instances, there is a hole in the bottom of the dish. That is because of the belief that, after death, the soul must drink all the water it has wasted in this world; or, as some people say, all the water it has used for washing dishes, clothes, et cetera, and then thrown away. The hole is put in the dish so that much of the water will run through, and the soul will be spared the drinking of the water lost in that way. The dishes cost from 30 to 100 coppers each.

A feast was served as part of the funeral ceremonies for most of the adults, but not in the case of any of the young children. One family had no feast because they were too poor; another because interment was to be in another city. It is reported that when interment is to be elsewhere, the feast is ordinarily omitted from funeral ceremonies held in Peiping. In that case, a "thank you" feast may be given to the friends and relatives after the family returns to the city. Instead of having such a feast, one family spent $22.50 in sending acknowledgment presents to those who helped at the time of the funeral.

The funeral feasts ordinarily were not so expensive as the wedding feasts. For only one, was the expenditure for food, fuel, service, mat pavilion, table and chairs more than $100. In that case, it amounted to $279. The pro-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511/764 portion of the expenditure used for the feast is also smaller for funerals than for weddings. Apparently from 20 to 25, or from 30 to 35, per cent of the total cost of the funeral is spent for the feast. For over half the weddings, more than 40 per cent was spent for the feast.

Food is regularly offered to the dead while the coffin is in the house, and afterwards on special occasions. Sometimes special food is given by friends or relatives; occasionally special food is purchased by the family, but ordinarily a little of the food prepared for the family is used. One family reported the expenditure of 140 coppers, or 36 cents, another $1, for special food to be offered to the dead. One of the funeral presents was a box containing several kinds of meat to be set before the coffin.

Wine and tobacco were offered to the guests at some of the funerals, but appeared less often and for smaller amounts than in the wedding accounts.

Wages and tips were also much smaller for the funerals than for the weddings. Less than $10 for most, but $58.35 for one. One cook was paid 80 cents, another 1,000 coppers, $2.60. For the largest funeral feast, the cooks and table boys received $37.55. A maid-servant was paid 60 cents for three days' work.

Instead of a mat pavilion, one family used an awning over the courtyard. It was summertime, so no other protection was needed. The charge for the awning was $3.20. One family held the funeral feast and ceremonies in a temple rather than in their home. The priests received $26 for their services, and $20 for the use of the temple.

Transportation is always an item in the funeral accounts, as it includes the charge for the carts for the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

funeral procession, and for any incidental transportation by ricksha, et cetera. The amounts varied from $1.50 to $25.55. For one funeral, the cart cost $1.50, which is probably the charge for one day for a Peiping cart and driver. For two other funerals the cost of the carts was $6 for each family; for another, it was $14.57; and $18 for a fourth.

One of the funeral arrangements is the printing of the death announcement, which is sent to friends and relatives of the deceased. The announcement contains a short biography of the dead man, his age, offices, and attainments, a list of the time and place of the funeral ceremonies, et cetera. It is usually printed on coarse yellow paper, and enclosed in an envelope of the same color. A strip of blue paper pasted down the center of the front of the envelope shows that it is a death announcement. Usually a narrower strip of red paper, on which the recipient's name is written, is pasted over the blue. If the old custom is followed, the announcements must be sent by hand. The poorer people deliver them themselves, or ask friends to do it for them. If there are servants in the family, they deliver the announcements. More and more families, however, are now sending them through the mails. The cost of the announcements was $1.20 and $1.25 for the smaller funerals, $3.50 for a medium-sized funeral, and $9 for the most expensive one reported.

These figures give a general picture of the cost of the items used for weddings and funerals, but they do not give a complete picture of the expenditure of any one family. That can be done only by the individual account. These individual accounts are presented in the following pages. They are given in considerable detail, as the de-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

FUNERAL NO. 10

765 *511 When two brothers, seventeen and fourteen years old, lost their widowed mother, they spent $29.15 for her funeral, even though the older brother was earning only $13 a month as a ricksha man, and there was a deficit in the family budget. Relatives and friends came to their help, and the funeral presents amounted to $33.20, or more than enough to cover all the funeral expenses.

FUNERAL NO. 11

764 *511 Three sons, when they buried their eighty-year-old mother, gave her a funeral that cost $194.30, or more than three months' income. The average monthly income was $62.15, a little more than half of which was from the rent of property. The remainder was from the wages of the three sons, a peddler, a teacher, and a clerk.

The coffin cost $57; bringing the coffin to the house, $3; and putting the body into the coffin, $1. The cost of the grave-clothes was $16. The musicians and coffin carriers were given $27; the priests $10; and the diviner, who picked out the proper day for the funeral and the proper place for the grave, $3. The men who prepared and closed the grave received $2.75. The burial permit cost $1. The paper cart, horse, money, et cetera, burned as part of the funeral, cost $5.30; a garland of white paper flowers for the coffin, $1; and the single white paper flowers worn by the guests, 50 cents. Only $1.50 was paid for the carts that followed the coffin, so there must have been few female relatives to go to the cemetery. The family included only one daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The male mourners walk in front of the catafalque.

The feast cost $40.90 for food and service, and $5.25 for fuel. The rent of the mat pavilion, tables, chairs, was $5; and $1 for the lamp used to light the pavilion.

Friends and relatives contributed $41.60 toward the funeral expenses. The other $150 came from savings and borrowing.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Funeral No. 12

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X511 The funeral expenses for the forty-seven-year-old father of a family of eight children—four boys and four girls ranging in age from two to seventeen years—amounted to $122.50. The funeral presents from friends and relatives totaled $188, considerably more than the cost of the funeral. The coffin cost $50; the carriers, $20; white cloth and clothing, $14.30. Five dollars was paid for the grave, and $22.55 for transportation by cart and railroad. The $1.20 paid for invitations to the funeral seems to be a fairly standard charge for middle-class families. The coffin pillow cost 60 cents; white string and paper flowers, 70 cents; and incense, 13 cents.

There was no expenditure for a feast. Apparently none was held in Peiping, as interment took place at the ancestral home in Hopei province. The expense of any feast served as part of the ceremonies there apparently was met by the members of the family who lived there. Soon after the family returned to the city, and about three months after the funeral, the widow spent $22.50 for return presents to be sent to those who had helped at the time of her husband's death.

The account shows that the family spent $20 for a doctor for the father, and $80 for medicine. A nephew came to Peiping to help care for his uncle for two months before his death. The man is reported to have died because he lost his job. He had been working for the railroad, with a salary first of $150 and then of $100 a month. This decrease in salary evidently came as a result of the financial difficulties of the railroad caused by the disturbed conditions in North China.

The father was the only wage-earner, so after his death the family was forced to live on its savings. The widow moved from a nine- to a five-room house, and dismissed one of the two servants. The children stayed in school, however, even though tuition and books cost $86. In six months, the family used $660 of its savings.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Funeral No. 13

Three brothers paid $257.15 for their sixty-year-old father's funeral. Earlier the same month the family spent $110.50 for the third son's wedding (Wedding No. 4). The two older brothers were already married, and one had a two-year-old son. Although the family income averaged only $75 a month, the expenditure of $367.65 apparently did not greatly upset the finances of the household. In preparation for the wedding, the family had saved some $140, the presents received at the time of the wedding totaled $47, and those for the funeral $115, which left only some $65 to be met by borrowing. Probably borrowing would not be difficult, as almost one-third of the family income came from rent.

Instead of buying a coffin, the sons bought the rough wood for $78.70 and paid the coffin-maker $15 for his labor. They also gave him a tip of $2. Varnish for the coffin cost $1. The grave-clothes cost $32.20, and white cloth for the family's mourning clothes $15.30. The priests received $20 for their services. Their servants were given a tip of $2. Thirty-nine dollars was paid for the musicians and carriers. Paper money, houses, boxes, images, et cetera, cost $10.90. The Peiping carts for the funeral cost $6. Ricksha fares amounted to $5.10. The caretaker at the grave received $4.50, and the writer of the death certificate 50 cents.

Apparently the family offered no feast to their visitors, as tea, cake and melon seeds were the only food items reported. These cost only $3.25. The fuel expenditure of $4.20 was largely for candles and kerosene.

Wine for the guests cost $7 and cigarettes $1. Tips to servants and the wages of an extra maid-servant amounted to $5. The funeral invitations cost $3.50. Besides the $115 in money presents, friends also gave six pieces of cloth and two wreaths.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Funeral No. 14

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The most expensive funeral was that of a woman sixty-four years old. She had been living alone in a two-room house that she owned. From the rent of other property, she received an average income of $17 a month. Just why she was living alone is not clear, whether from choice, or because she had no immediate family in Peiping. Her relatives spent $744.85 for her funeral.

The coffin was specially fine. It cost $205 and was furnished with a blanket and pillow that cost $4.30. A $200 coffin is often called a "five, six, seven" coffin, the bottom being five inches thick, the sides six inches, and the top seven inches. The weight of such a coffin is about 850 catties, or 1,150 pounds.

Instead of putting up a mat pavilion in the courtyard, the family had the coffin carried to a temple and held the funeral services and feast there. They paid $20 for the use of the temple, gave the priests $26, and paid the diviner $6.20 for his services. The undertaker's shop that provided the musicians, carriers, catafalque, and other paraphernalia received $96.65.

Food for the feast cost $181.65. More than half of this, $107.65, was spent for the various kinds of meat. Pork was the principal item and cost $76.65. Only $2 was spent for mutton; $5.40 for salt meat; and $10.65 for fish and sea cucumbers. The various flours, grains, bread, cakes, et cetera, cost $35.75. Of this, $19.15 was for rice and $13.60 for noodles. Tea-leaves cost $7.15, wine $10.10, but cigarettes only 22 cents. Fuel for cooking the feast cost $12.80, and light $6.45. The cooks, waiters, servants, received $58.35 as wages and tips. A maid-servant was paid 80 coppers (20 cents) a day.

The details of the account show some of the interesting funeral customs and their cost. The name tablet, to be put with the family ancestral tablets, cost 90 coppers, 23 cents, and the box to hold it 310 coppers, 79 cents. Ninety-five cents was given to the beggar hired to watch the funeral objects standing at the gate. The head carrier who led the coffin to the grave received a tip of 8 cents besides his wages. Only 15 cents was spent for cleaning the graveyard. Twenty coppers, 5 cents, were thrown

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

into the open grave. One dollar was spent for large round pieces of white paper money which were tossed into the air as the coffin was carried through the streets. The paper money burned during the funeral ceremonies cost $8.40; the paper houses, carts, boxes, et cetera, $4.20; incense $1.50. Thirty cents was spent for large and small account-books in which were entered the funeral accounts and the funeral presents. The funeral invitations cost $9 and the card of thanks 80 cents. Photographs of the funeral cost $7.50.

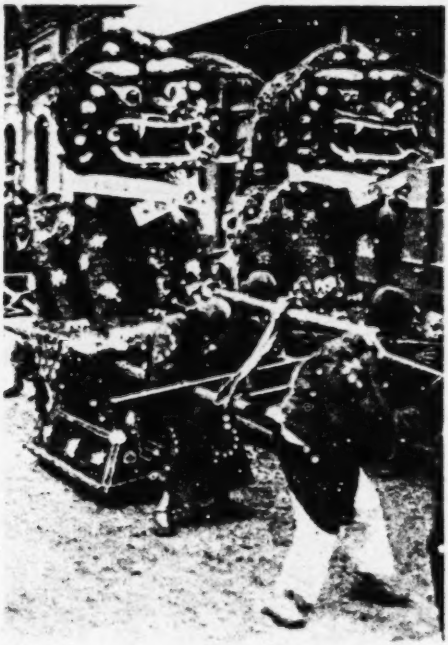
The funeral expenses were met either from savings, or, more probably, from the sale of some of the dead woman's property. The money presents amounted to $90.70. This included 31,000 coppers ($79.08).

Other items were:

Nailing the Coffin		$ 2.00
Carriages and Rickshas		25.55
Burial Permit		1.00
Paper Flowers		1.10
White Cloth for Grave and Mourning Clothes		30.50
Feast Food		181.75
Grain and Flour	35.75	
Meat	107.65	
Vegetables	22.00	
Condiments	10.70	
Fruit	2.00	
Extra Meals	3.65	
House Equipment		2.75
Miscellaneous		27.75

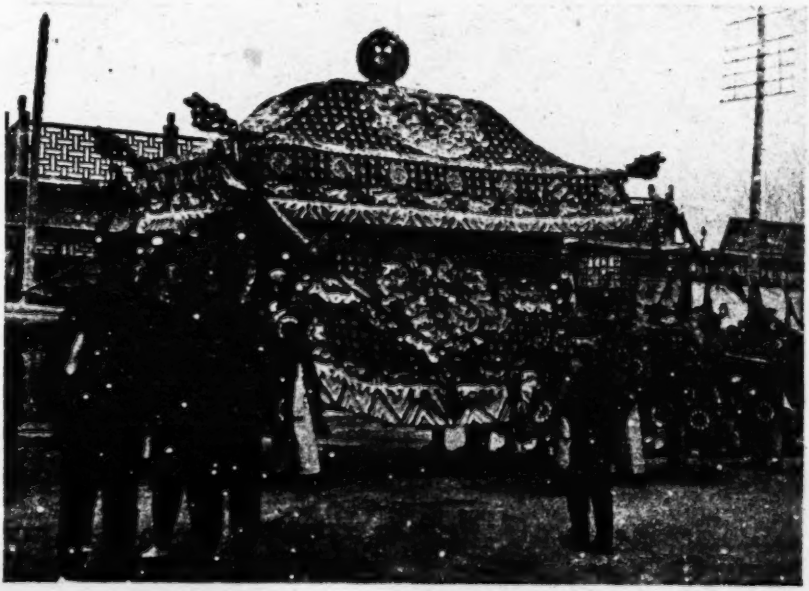
7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

764



FUNERAL LIONS

These lions, made of evergreen, paper and kaoliang stalks, will be burned so they can sit in front of the deceased's spiritual yamen.



CATAFALQUE ON ITS WAY TO THE GRAVE

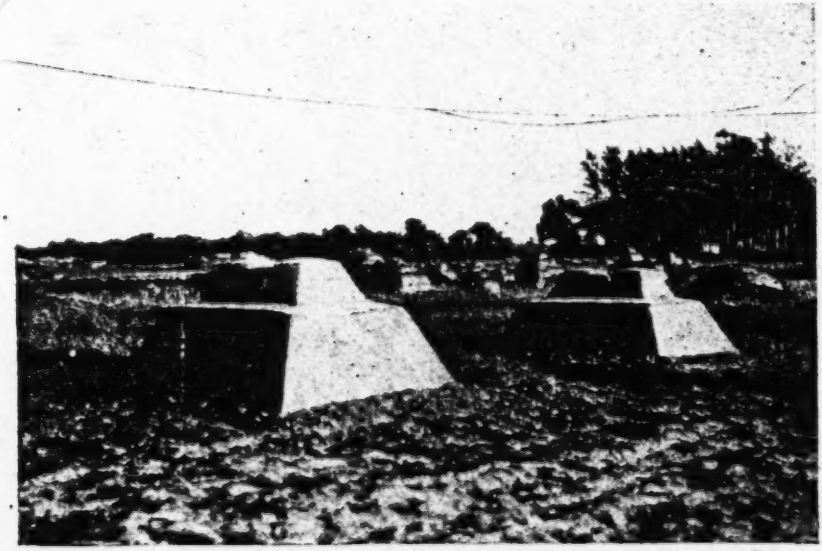
This one, part of an expensive funeral, is carried by thirty-two men.

[FACING P. 308]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

764

CHINESE GRAVE MOUNDS
Women wailing before the grave of their dead on Chinese New Year's Day.



MOHAMMEDAN GRAVE MOUNDS
Quite different from the usual cone-shaped Chinese grave.

[Active p. 309]